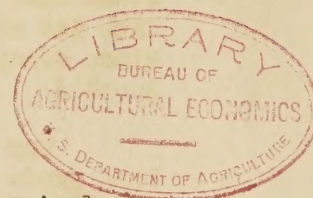


UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Bureau of Agricultural Economics
Washington, D. C.

INFORMAL GROUPINGS IN A SPANISH-AMERICAN VILLAGE¹

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The Village and its Setting



We were in North Central New Mexico looking for a typical Spanish-American village to study. For hours we had been bouncing along wondering whether our car would make it through another sandy arroyo or over the next rocky ridge. On both sides of the road or trail were many low juniper and pinon trees which we knew furnished all the fuel used by the people in the villages we had passed. We knew too that the sparse grass among the trees, shrubs, and rocks furnished most of the feed for the livestock of the people. A long time ago either Spain or Mexico had given the people this land in huge grants. They had run large herds of sheep, goats, and cattle here just as had their ancestors in Spain. Now it was different. Since the Americanos had come large livestock companies had gotten possession of either the land or the water holes so necessary for grazing use in this high desert plateau. The natives had been thrown into the labor market. After the men had furnished most of the labor to build the railroads of the Southwest, they went far and wide searching for work in the beet fields, in mines and smelters, or on the ranches, always to return, sometimes thousands of miles, to the villages. Then the depression struck and there was little day labor to be had. The situation became desperate.

As we talked about these things we speculated as to why these roving laborers always came back. With little land to graze and dwindling irrigated holdings why did the people return or stay? Few other transient laborers of the country had permanent homes to which they returned to their loved ones. What made the bonds of the families so strong? That was one of the questions we hoped to answer from the study of the village for which we were searching.

As we rode along we debated whether we should study a Spanish-speaking dry farming village, one of the little villages tucked in the river valleys, or go northwest to find an isolated mountain village. We talked about the origin of the people in the upper Pecos country--how they were often lighter in complexion than many other Spanish-speaking groups in America. Mr. O. E. Leonard, my companion and fellow researcher, recalled that a local priest from Andalusia, Spain, had said that when he entered any of these villages he had the feeling that he had suddenly been transported back, as if by a magic carpet, to his native Andalusian home. We also talked of the disappearance of the dons who once controlled the resources and live-

¹ Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, Section on Sociology and Psychiatry, 1940. The Carnegie Corporation contributed funds which enabled the author to determine and analyze the groupings discussed.

stock like feudal lords. Leonard thought that now the Government with its many programs was taking the place of the dons who had long since disappeared as they mingled their blood with that of the common people.

Our car was just beginning to idle down an incline after a hard grade along the edge of a cliff when suddenly almost directly under us a village hove into sight. Although both Leonard and I had lived our lives in and travelled over most of the Southwest, neither of us had been so impressed by a village and the beauty of its scenery. Without saying a word Leonard stopped his car and as one we got out to gaze down from the steep mountain cliff at the village and the small rectangular tracts of irrigated land which lay between us and the houses. The Pecos River seemed to come out of a deep canyon to tie a silvery knot about the little cluster of houses with their black and red tin roofs and then flow on into rougher terrain. Except for the noise of the rushing river, as it came down the ravine into the pocket where the village nestled under the early spring midday sun, all was quiet.

I turned to Leonard and said, "If old Toennies were here he would say that village has the aspect of a Gemeinschaft, where centuries of living together away from the trade centers of the earth has almost made a village into a large family. See how the houses form a rectangle about the church. That other building may be a school. About a dozen families could live in that long building on the other side of the church. (Fig. 1) Count the door steps. It certainly fills the requirements for the Gemeinschaft of place. The distance between the two houses which are farthest apart can't be much more than 200 yards and most of the families live within only a few feet of one another. What do you think about it as Toennies' Gemeinschaft of blood and mind?"

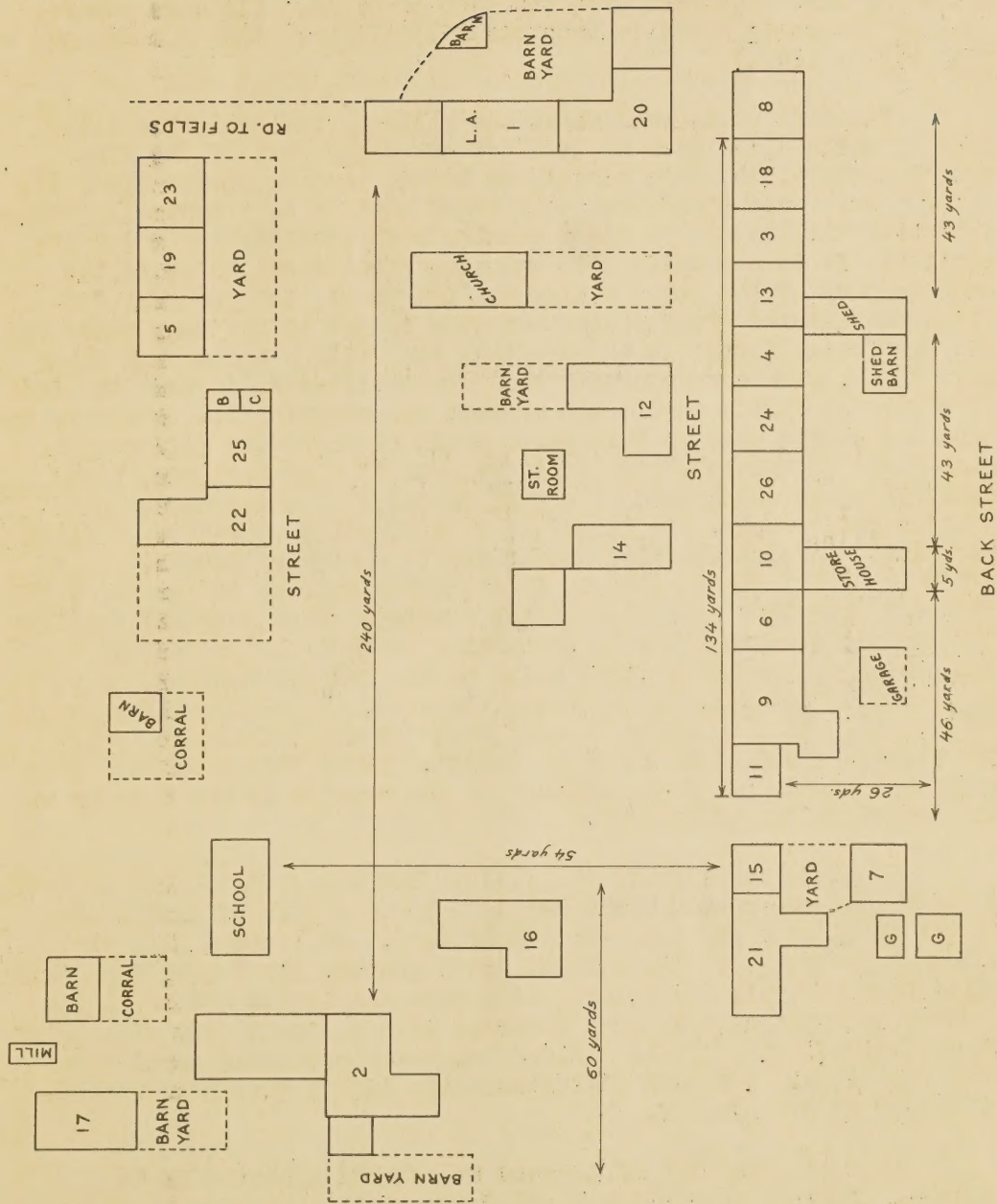
"That's not so simple," answered Leonard.

(About a year later, after almost a year's continuous contact with the village as residents, we could have vouched for the fact that it did answer Toennies' requirements for the Gemeinschaft of blood and mind. There is scarcely a single family among the twenty-five which make up the village which is not at least a cousin of any other. These ties, as will be shown, are very important in the life of the community. A few weeks' residence in the village would convince any one that it was a Gemeinschaft of mind. The Spanish language is used almost exclusively by all. Even in the schoolroom children frequently request and receive explanations in Spanish and many people know only a few words of English. Not only do they think and talk in the same tongue but they all worship the same spiritual Father. Few groups in America are more devoted and loyal to their church and priest. The great events of any individual's life, as well as the chief celebrations of the year, are religious. Every child above the age of ten knows the church ritual and what is expected of a good Catholic. A child's first reading is in the book on the catechism. The church

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Fig. 1

LOCATION OF HOUSES AND BUILDINGS, EL CERRITO, NEW MEXICO, 1940



is by far the best kept building and all women and most men attend regularly. Throughout life, from first communion through marriage and at death, the church is the most important institution in the life of the family. Moreover, most families had experienced the same hardships and were concerned with the same problems. All were owners, even if ownership meant in many cases little more than a house and a tiny bit of land.)

The more we learned about the village, the present settlement of which dates back to at least the early part of the nineteenth century, the more certain we became that we should study it. After a brief reconnaissance we learned that it is a typically representative village of the Pecos country with possibly one major exception. It is not split into opposing rival factions as is the case in many of the other villages. Originally two powerful families constituted rival groups but they fought it out many years ago and one family left. We thought that the village had enough other advantages, when compared with the many considered, so that the lack of factional strife should not prevent our studying it. However, the maps and charts used in this paper would be decidedly different if such factions existed. The whole village is a compact racial and cultural group which acts as a unit in cases of emergency such as a major catastrophe. In itself it is a formal cooperative, a ditch association, which functions according to customary usages. As in the case of the other villages in the river valleys it is one of the oldest cooperative societies in the country. Each year all families furnish maintenance labor in proportion to their holdings. If the dam, which was probably first built by the Indians hundreds of years ago, should wash out, as it frequently does, the whole village would replace it. If a calamity or misfortune should befall one family the village would stand ready to assist. These things we knew from a general knowledge of the culture of the area or from a teacher who had taught in the village.

We wanted to live in the village but how could we get an entree? We knew that the people would hardly welcome a pair of Anglos when it was the Anglos who had taken their land. We learned also that not many years ago in the nearest trade center, Las Vegas, some thirty miles from the village, a large livestock commission and provision company had mysteriously gone bankrupt with a loss to the village of about \$20,000. The little village had never recovered completely from this loss. For such misfortunes the Anglos were held responsible and we were Anglos.

It became the lot of Leonard to establish status in the village. This he accomplished after a month's residence at the home of the mother of one of the teachers, during which time he lost no opportunity to make himself and his car useful to the people. I returned to take my stint of several months' life in El Cerrito after Leonard had lived with the Spanish-American families for some six months. Our report will be published by the United States Department

of Agriculture with six other community studies, which, with Leonard's and my study, were made under the direction of Dr. Carl C. Taylor of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Informal Relationships

In the remainder of this paper I shall deal with some informal groupings of the village. The conclusions are tentative and analyses incomplete, and I shall not have time to stress the relations of this village to other villages or to the surrounding towns. If there were time I should like particularly to go into the matter of village-city relationships; to explain how the towns of the Southwest are divided into the Anglo and Spanish-American sections, and how the roots of El Cerrito sink deep in the life of the highly commercialized trade center. However, I must confine myself to the informal groupings which do not possess a formal organization with officers, such as do the ditch association, the school board, the church, and the political clubs.

The Family

The informal groupings which I wish to discuss are based upon the family. In the discussion I shall use the term family in the general sense, as including the parents and their children living in one household. However, the larger family, with grandparents, children, grandchildren, aunts and uncles, and sometimes cousins, is the family concept which exists in the minds of the villagers.

In El Cerrito the family is the most powerful influence in the life of any individual. A child of three knows that he must obey his grandparents, aunts, uncles, older brothers and sisters. If you were to give an El Cerrito child a sack of candy, he would probably run home to give it to his parents as fast as his legs could carry him. Earnings of the children belong to the family and are managed by the father. Should misfortune befall any member of the larger family, the whole group would feel obliged to render all possible assistance. The greatest of respect is shown to old people and it is the oldest male who controls the resources of a family. Even the aged father who has relinquished his possessions to his sons still remains in charge of the land and livestock. Authority of the older people is recognized with little thought of contradiction. At any family ceremony such as a child's first communion, marriage, or death, all of the larger family attempts to be present. Even members who are working at some distant place try to be there, and this often draws heavily upon their meager resources. A family may spend years accumulating enough money to pay for things that are thought to be necessary for a wedding, including dresses, large and expensive portraits of the bridal party, and church expenditures. Funerals also draw very heavily upon the meager resources but all the family

is expected to assist in any way possible. When a death occurs the whole village mourns for several weeks but it is the grandparents, parents, brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, nieces, and nephews who mourn for the remainder of the year. During this time no music should be played, no dances or similar entertainment attended. However, it is only within the immediate family, including parents and children, that people of the same age address one another with the familiar pronoun "tu".

Visiting Relations

Visiting in the village goes on almost continually. After each church service a group gathers to talk about affairs of local interest. At any formal meeting there is much visiting and talking. At all dances, and these are frequently weekly affairs, there is much talking, especially among the old people.

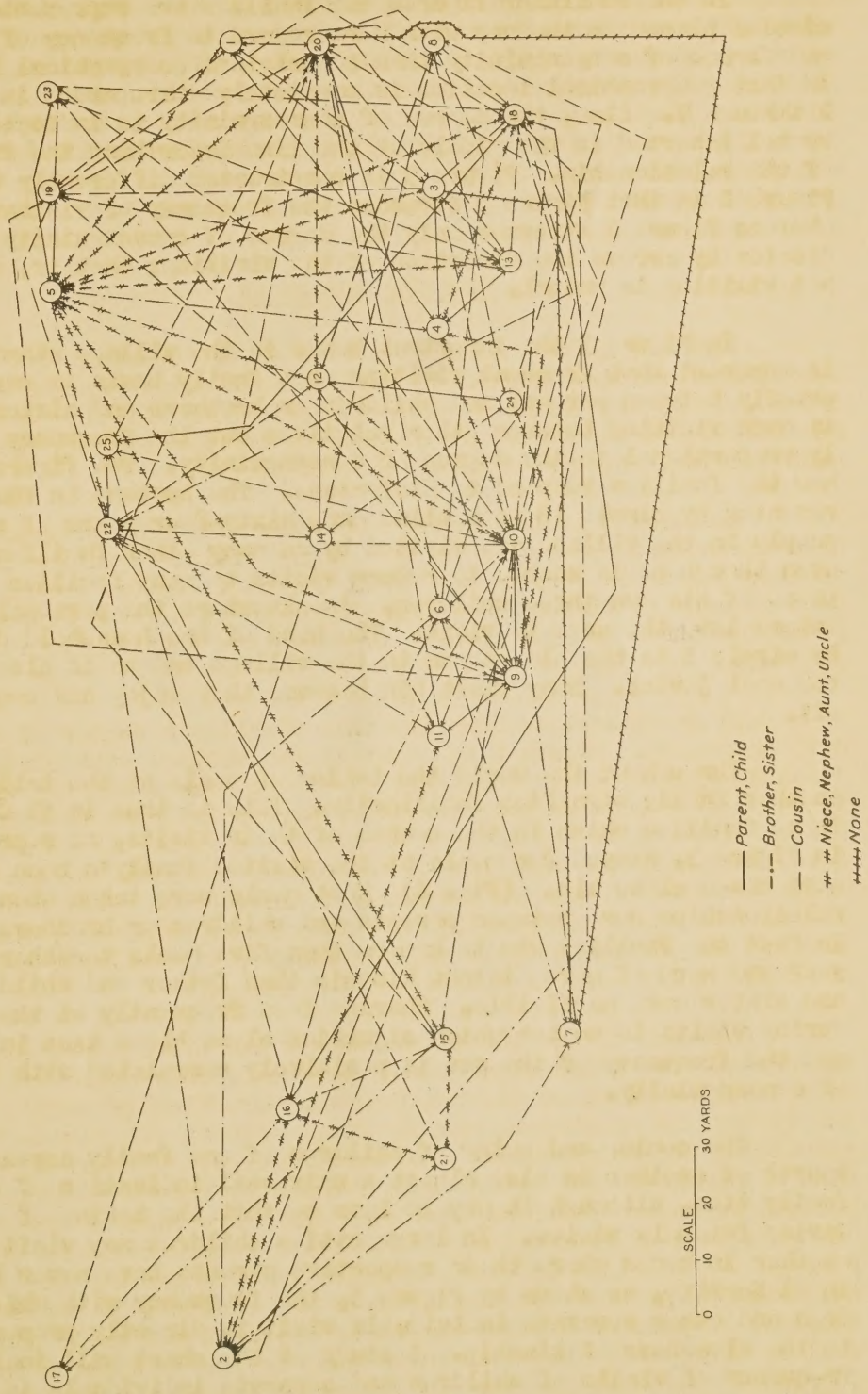
Who visits in the homes? Are there informal groupings which make themselves apparent when the people visit? Visiting in one another's home is very common in El Cerrito. On one normal afternoon as many as fifteen people may drop in at a given house, some returning three or four times. Children are continually running in and out.

In an attempt to describe this visiting a number of charts have been made. Figure 2 is a map of the village with circles indicating approximately the location of the houses and the visiting which goes on between the families. Arrows indicate the direction of the visitations and whether or not the visiting is mutual. In this chart only the visiting of one parent and at least one other member or more of his or her family is indicated. This restriction was made to render it possible to study family visiting, thus eliminating the continuous flow of individuals, particularly children, who continually pass in and out of the house.

Only two of the 108 lines between the circles representing the families do not designate some degree of consanguinity. This is not surprising when one realizes that practically everyone in the village is related to someone else. Almost all degrees of consanguinity are represented. The closest degree of consanguinity, that of parent-child, occurs less frequently than the others simply because there are fewer parents than there are persons who can claim other degrees of consanguinity with other people visited. Thirteen percent of the lines indicate visiting between parents and their children; 31 percent between brothers and sisters; 36 percent between cousins; 18 percent between nieces and nephews and their aunts or uncles. From this study one might jump to the conclusion that the degree of consanguinity was not important and that visiting was carried on more frequently between cousins than between parents and children. This would be a false impression because the frequency of the visits is not represented in this figure.

Fig. 2

VISITING RELATIONS OF FAMILIES, EL CERRITO, NEW MEXICO, 1940



In the remaining figures the families are represented by circles placed on the map with more regard to frequency of visitation and degree of consanguinity than to original geographical location. In fact geographical location is completely disregarded in Figure 2 through 7. Also, the degree of consanguinity is indicated by a symbol inserted in the middle of the line describing the frequency of the relationship. Figure 3 is constructed differently than is Figure 2 in that Figure 3 stresses the frequency of visitation whereas Figure 2 stresses only the degree of consanguinity and indicates by arrows the direction of the visiting; that is, whether or not visiting is mutual.

In Figure 3 the important bonds in the village stand out. It is apparent that frequent visiting on a family basis is carried on chiefly between parents and children or brothers and sisters. There is much visiting between other relatives but the frequency is directly proportional to the degree of consanguinity. The figure also shows how the families respond to misfortune. The husband in the family represented by circle 18 is a blind man, sixty-four years of age. Few people in the village are visited by as many other families as is he, even though he is unable to return visits to many families other than those of his own three children. As elsewhere the personal element enters into the urge to visit. The head of the household designated by circle 5 is the oldest man in the village and he is also one of the most jovial. Many visit him because they enjoy his company and wit.

Throughout the world the taking of meals at the table of another family signifies familiarity. This is true in El Cerrito. Those families which in the course of their visits, as represented in Figure 3, stayed for meals at the visited family's home were in most cases close kin. (Fig. 4) Most meals were taken when visiting relationships were between parents and children or brothers and sisters. In fact the families who took more than five meals together during the year and were of more distant kinship than father and child or brother and sister were negligible. Sharing food frequently at the same table during visits is an act which signifies close blood ties in El Cerrito, and the frequency of the act is positively correlated with the degree of consanguinity.

The coming and going of children of one family across the hearth of another is also almost a universal indication of close family ties, although it may be less so that the taking of meals during friendly visits. In large cities children may visit one another in homes where their respective parents have never been. In El Cerrito, as shown by Figure 5, the frequency with which children and other separate individuals visit is directly proportional to the closeness of kinship. A study of the chart will indicate the frequency of visits of children and separate individuals in the homes of the grandparents of the children. Several of the grandparents have grandchildren living with them, the sons and daughters of unfortunate

VISITING RELATIONS OF PARENTS SHOWING FREQUENCY, EL CERRITO, NEW MEXICO,

1940

Fig. 3

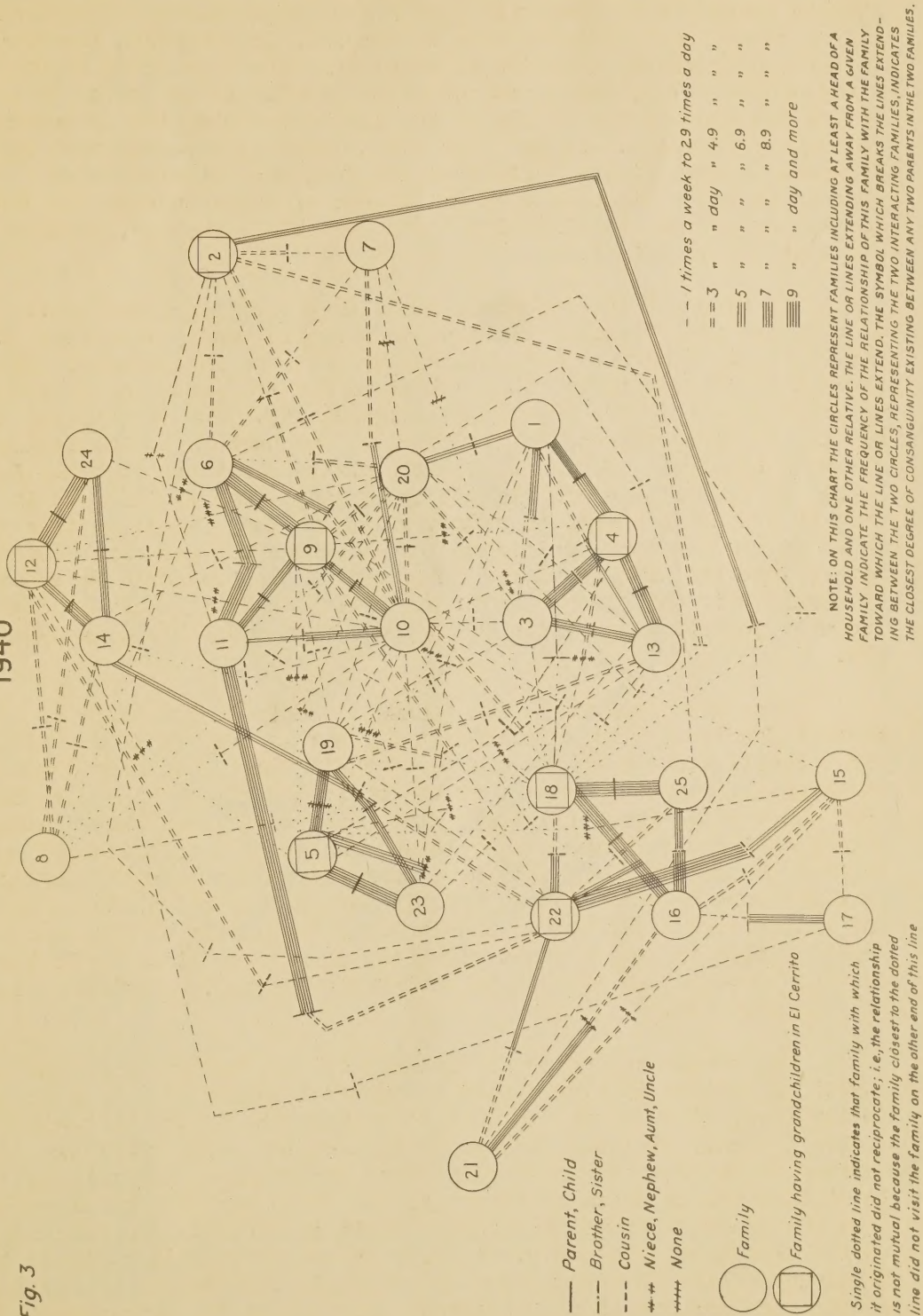


Fig. 4

FAMILIES EATING MEALS TOGETHER, EL CERRITO, NEW MEXICO, 1940

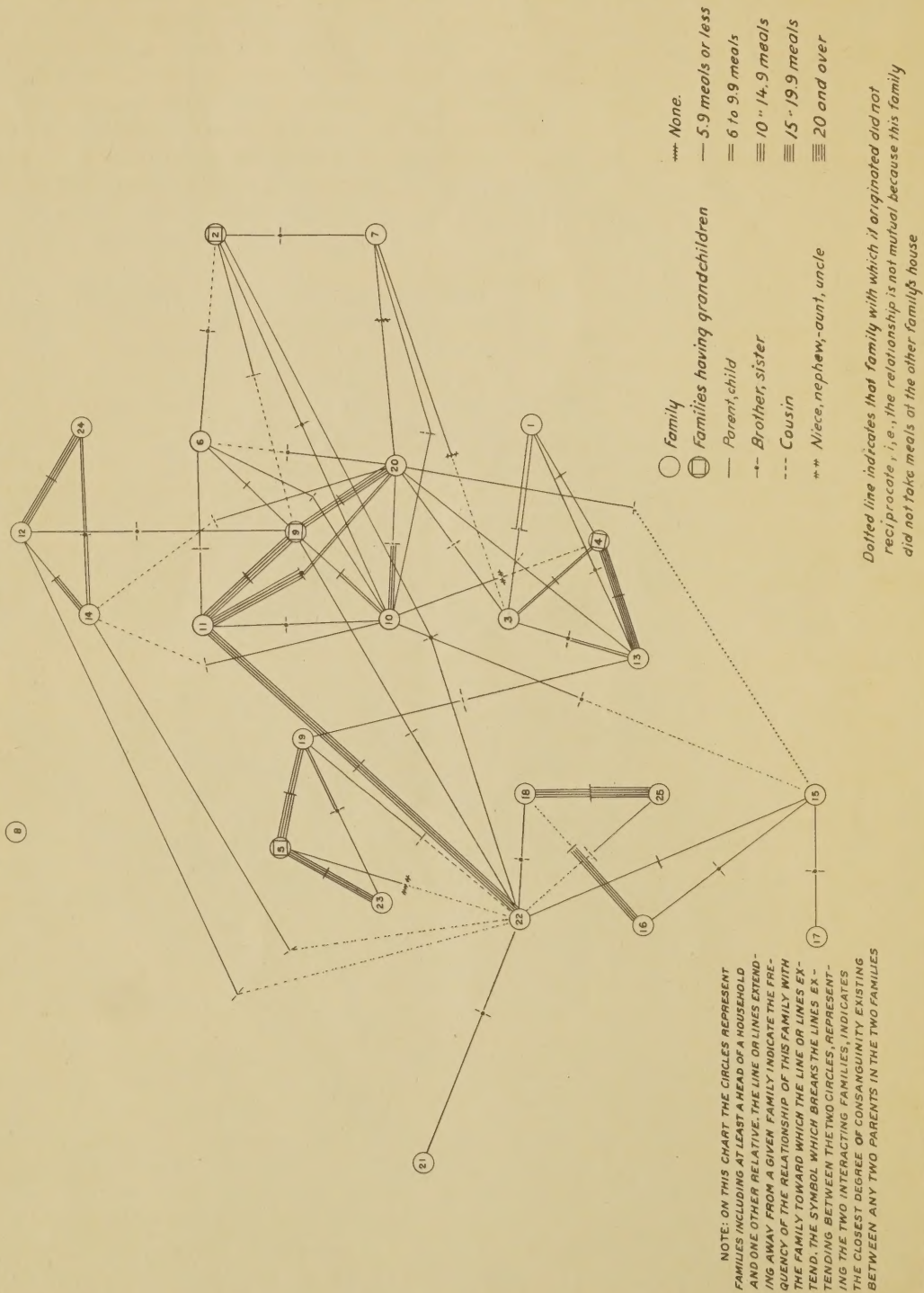
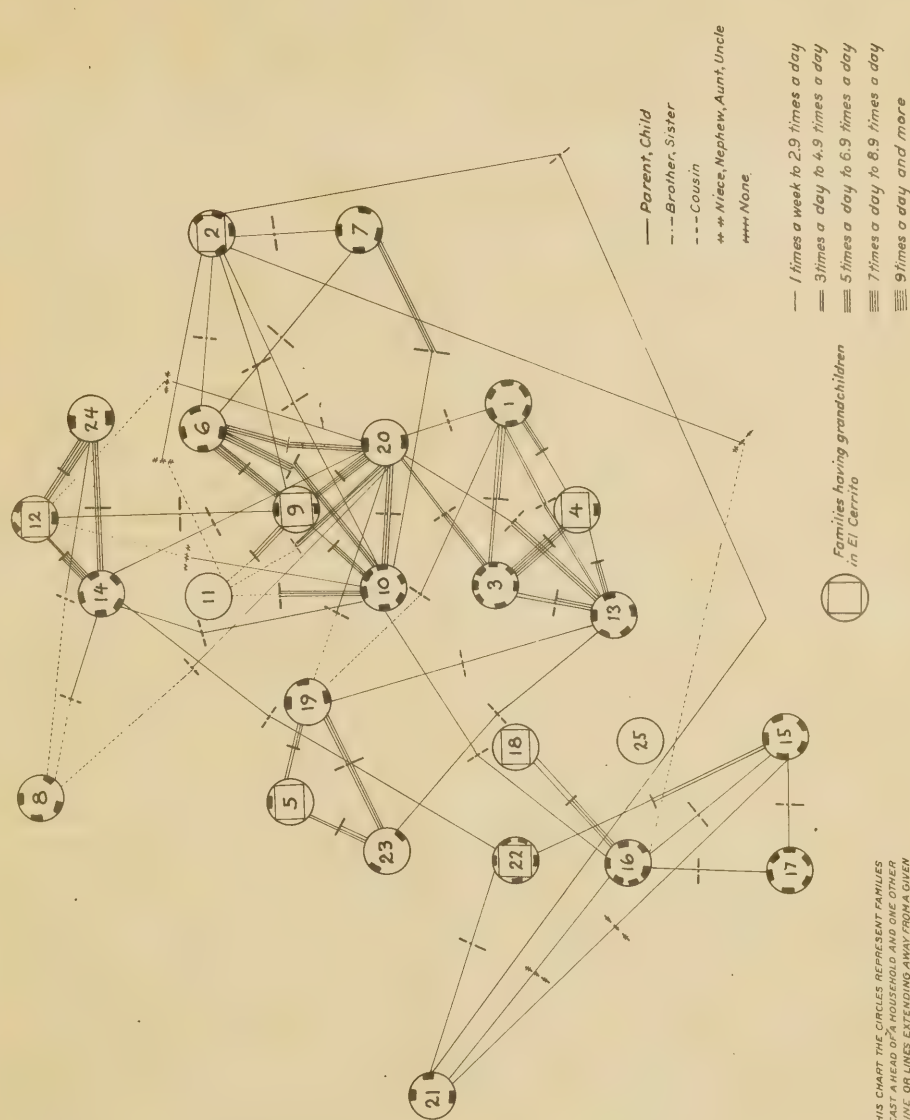


Fig. 5

VISITING OF CHILDREN AND OTHER INDIVIDUALS EL CERRITO, NEW MEXICO, 1940



NOTE: ON THIS CHART THE CIRCLES REPRESENT FAMILIES INCLUDING AT LEAST A HEAD OF A HOUSEHOLD AND ONE OTHER RELATIVE; THE LINE OR LINES EXTENDING AWAY FROM A GIVEN CIRCLE INDICATE THE VISITING OF THAT FAMILY TO OTHERS. THE SYMBOL WHICH BREAKS THE LINES EXTENDING FROM THE TWO CIRCLES, REPRESENTING THE TWO INTERACTING FAMILIES, INDICATES THE CLOSEST DEGREE OF COMINGLUNITY EXISTING BETWEEN ANY TWO PARENTS IN THE TWO FAMILIES.

*Blocks within the circles represent the number of children within the family. Single dotted lines indicate that family with which it originated did not reciprocate; i. e., the relationship is not mutual because the family closest to the dotted line did not have children that entered the other home.

parents. These grandchildren may return the visits of other grandchildren from other families. Some families are shown as almost isolated on Chart 5. They are young childless families such as numbers 11 and 25. Nothing could be more informal than the visiting of the children but the frequency of the visitations are, for the most part, governed by kinship. However, geographical distance also plays a part. The children of cousins who live next door, other things being equal, will probably visit more frequently than the cousins whose families live 200 yards apart.

Informal Cooperation

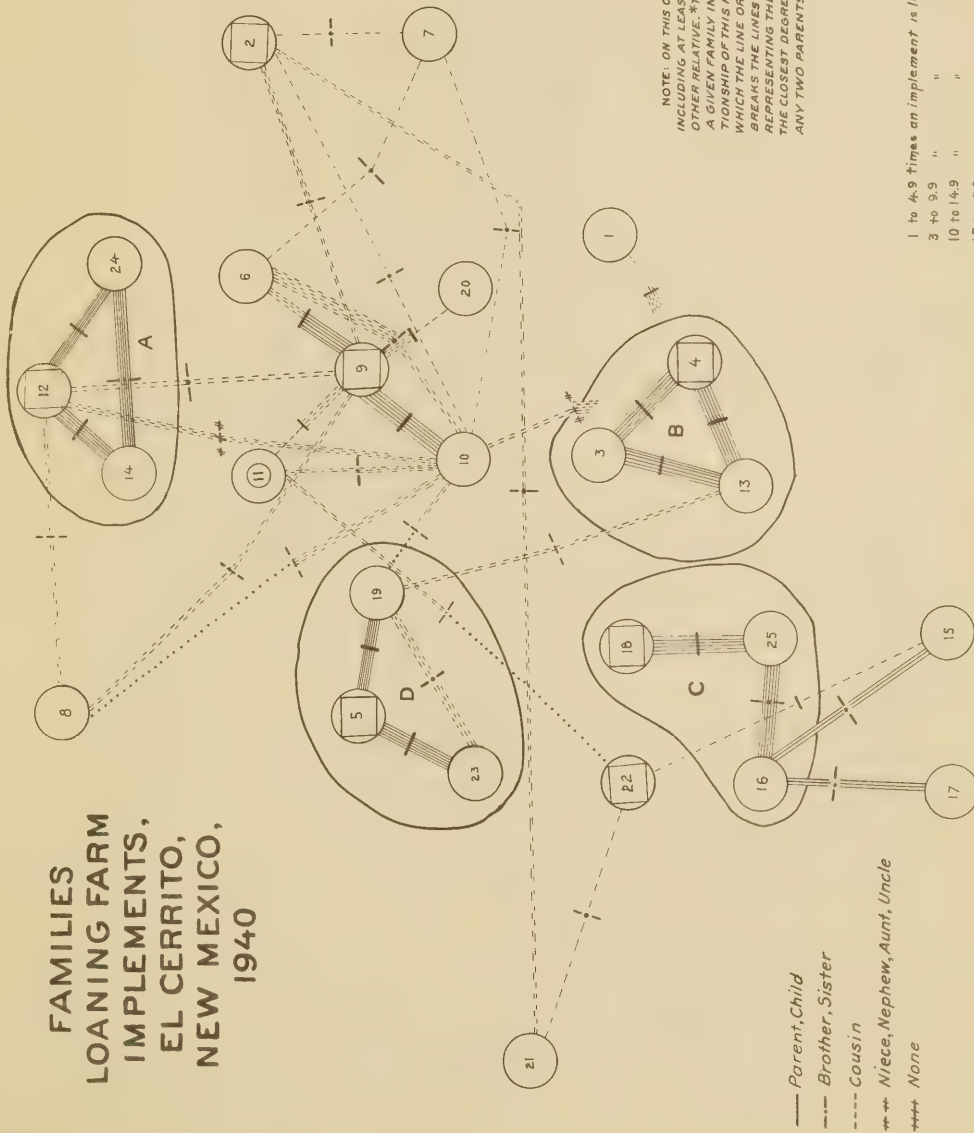
As stated previously the village is a large cooperative society, an irrigation association. Also, most families work together in keeping the premises of the church in order and in the performance of church ceremonies. When it comes to the day by day labor of the families much informal cooperation is in evidence. The children are frequently sent to borrow sugar, salt, or other household item. An account is never kept of the numerous things loaned, which are always returned. In fact it would be an act worthy of the severest reproach if such an account were kept or if the return of a borrowed object were to be requested. Money is also frequently borrowed with no written record or bond.

Figure 6 describes the frequency of loaning farm implements. Again the kinship ties stand out. Actually many families own most of their equipment in common. Harvests are usually family affairs, the division of which is quite informal. For instance, in the case of families 3, 4, and 13, the father owns practically all the equipment. All work is done in common. There is a common wood pile, common barns, and common storage of crops and food. The son-in-law who owns most of his own equipment (number 1) and family 10 deal with this larger family chiefly through the head (number 4). However, family 19 deals directly with one of the sons (number 13), who owns some equipment in his own right. Other larger groups are more complicated. There is both common and pooled property. In the larger family, including the smaller families, 9, 6, 20, 10, and 11, the smaller families own so much equipment individually that no larger ring is drawn about them. There is much borrowing individually from the brothers even though the mother, number 9, owns most of the land and resources. The groups A, C, and D function in a more communal manner although in each of these groups there is considerable ownership of and exchanging of implements by separate families.

Figure 7 describes the frequency of exchanging farm work, which also follows family lines. Some families do not participate much because of the great age of the head, as is the case of numbers 4 and 5, or because of infirmity as in the case of the blind man represented by number 18, or because the male head is dead as in the cases of numbers 9 and 16.

Fig. 6

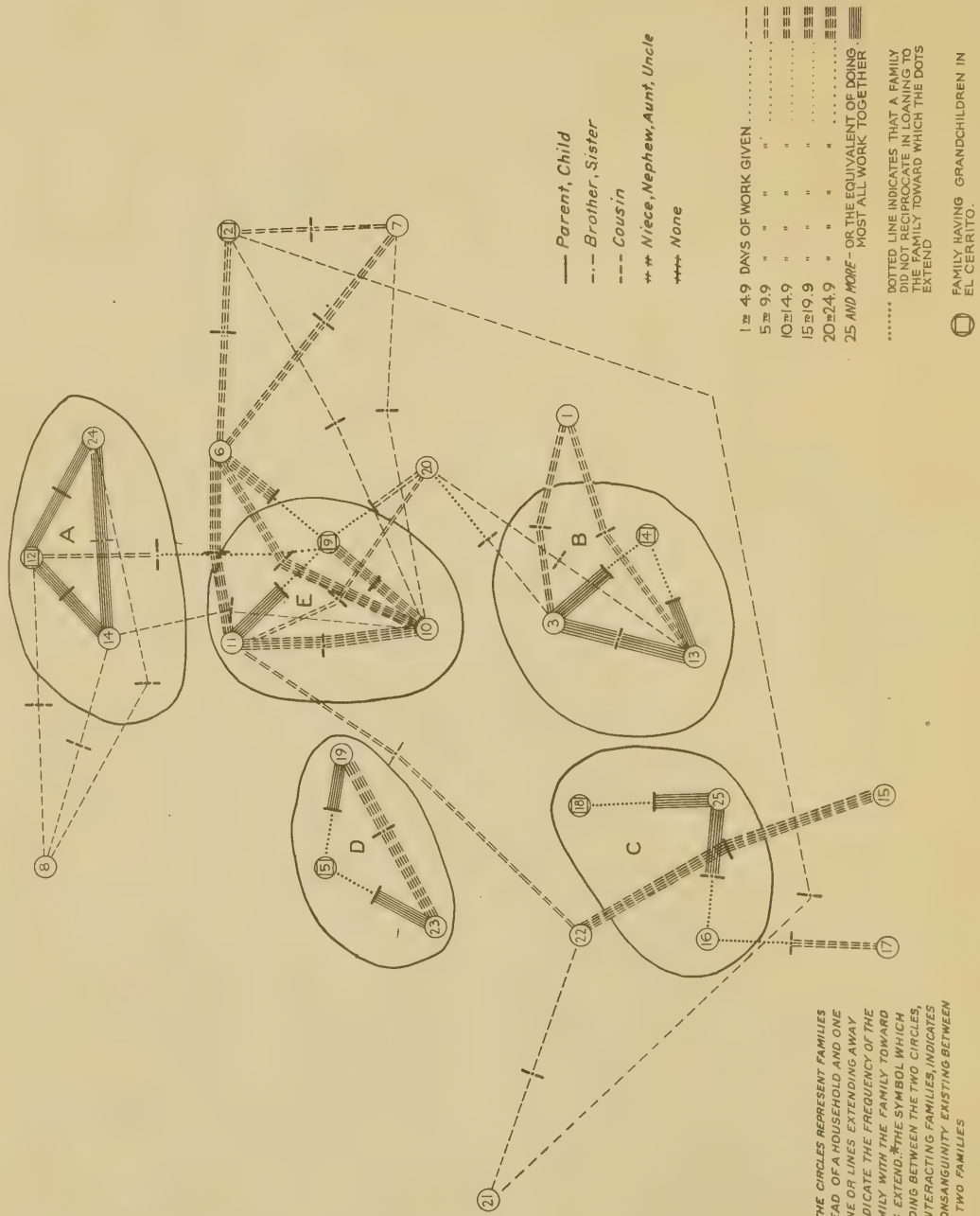
FAMILIES LOANING FARM IMPLEMENTS, EL CERRITO, NEW MEXICO, 1940



* For instance, family 2 loaned implements to family 9 from 10 to 15 times whereas family 9 loaned implements to family 2 only from 3 to 10 times

Fig. 7

FAMILIES EXCHANGING WORK, EL CERRITO, NEW MEXICO, 1940



All of these heads are functional units in larger units which are outlined in the larger circles A, B, C, D, and E. They either direct operations or own most of the equipment with which the work is done. These large circles omit some families who function as parts of the larger families in other respects. For instance, the son-in-law (number 1) of the head of the larger group (B) deals individually with his brothers-in-law (numbers 3 and 13) who do most of their work in common. The families in large Circle D are practically isolated so far as exchanging work with outsiders is concerned but the brothers, numbers 23 and 19, do not do all of their work in common.

Circle E is a much more complicated mixture of common and mutual labor. Number 20 is the school teacher. Number 6, the son-in-law of the female head (number 9), exchanges work independently with two brothers-in-law (numbers 10 and 11) and his own two brothers (numbers 2 and 7). However, even with these variations the importance of kinship in these cooperative activities is manifold. This is true even though there is the lone wolf type of family, such as number 8.

Summary and Conclusions

Only a few miles up the Pecos River from El Cerrito the United States Department of Agriculture is spending thousands of dollars in an experiment in rehabilitation of a whole Spanish-American village. The study of El Cerrito was made in the hope that some knowledge concerning the culture of the area might be usable in the program. It is certain that a knowledge of the informal relationships described in this paper will be of assistance in the program. Our next task will be to take up residence in the village being rehabilitated and attempt to determine what policies seem best.

It has been proposed that people from the villages where the land resources are too meager be resettled. One family in El Cerrito is attempting to resettle itself on a ranch of several thousand acres some thirty miles from the village. The families of four sons are working and saving all they can to restock the ranch so that the whole family can move.

For governmental resettlement schemes the fact must be borne in mind that the larger family of grandparents, children, and grandchildren should be considered. To remove a smaller family would frequently create hardships and would only increase expenditure for frequent visits back to the village. Smaller families than those which include the grandparents and the families of the sons should seldom be considered for resettlement to a new location. It would be better for the daughters' families, uncles, aunts, nephews and nieces, and in some cases, cousins to be part of the group to be removed. In many cases the parental family would not consider leaving the family of the daughter. For instance, the female head (number 9)

of the larger family E in Figure 7 would not think of leaving her daughter, the mother in family number 6.

Of course, in many cases, it would be much better to assist the families in the old village where they have lived for generations. Why should these people not be again granted the privilege of using the ranges which were theirs before the coming of the impact of commercialism and new systems of land tenure. True, most of them are not up to the shrewd dealings of the Anglos. It is true also that the heritage they brought from Europe is closer to the Middle Ages than that of the Anglos. It is likewise true that they, with some exceptions, lack the puritanical reverence for hard work and thrift as virtues in and of themselves. However, I believe that if the bottom should drop out of the livestock market or if some other calamity should befall the commercialism of the area, in the course of time these people would regain their birthright. If they are shoved off the land to become a landless, shifting proletariat, the culture which enabled them to withstand all forces in the dry southwest (except the culture of the Anglo) through the centuries would be lost. I for one, in making a choice of the values, believe that life in the large families in the villages of the Southwest is worthy of preservation.

DISCUSSION OF DR. CHARLES P. LOOMIS' PAPER ON
INFORMAL GROUPINGS IN A SPANISH-AMERICAN VILLAGE

Carl C. Taylor

Dr. Loomis in his paper runs the gamut all the way from the romantic to the mundane, from the conceptual to the highly visual or mechanistic. That he saw Toennies' "Gemeinschaft of blood and mind" from a hilltop, some distance from the village, and before he had begun observations, indicates that he was not without a conceptual frame of reference with which to start his study; that he reduced his observations to lines and numbers should satisfy the quantifiers that he is duly empirical. This was not, however, Loomis' first view of a Spanish-American village nor his first sociometric analysis. He started this study with both conceptual and empirical knowledge of his field of study. His analysis of the village of El Cerrito is of greater significance when it is compared or contrasted with his analyses of other communities, especially when contrasted with his analysis of newly established communities. In the one is something approaching a complete kinship group which has lived together in one village for between a century and a century and a half, all members of one church, all members of one ethnic group, all somewhat isolated by language barriers from the surrounding area. In the others the settlements were of recent origin, the settlers almost complete strangers to each other until they arrived in the ready-made communities, without common religious loyalties, and none of them isolated from the surrounding communities by race or language. In the older community the sociometric analysis reveals little if anything that is not, at least partially, obvious to the casual observer. In the new communities the analysis revealed things which those who managed the communities and even the members of the communities had not been able to see even though these things were a part of their daily lives.

The value of sociometric analysis and description inheres chiefly in its capacity to reveal patterns and differences in dynamic relationships. Until its use has gone far enough to establish patterns it cannot reveal very many meaningful differences. The question may, therefore, be legitimately asked whether its use has gone this far. It should be pointed out that it does not start from scratch. All may not agree with Moreno that there is a "sociogenic law."¹ All will agree that social analyses do start with a knowledge that human association and mutuality are universal phenomena and that dynamic patterns of associations and relationships are a necessary and universal part of human existence. A major task of sociology is to observe carefully, describe vividly, and analyze critically these patterns of dynamic relationships. As Moreno says, "it seems like

¹ Moreno, J. L., Who Shall Survive?, p. 65, Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, Washington, D. C., 1934.

an insurmountable task," but "the methods and techniques gained in the course of investigation will be universal."² He did not say that the patterns of relationships will be universal but that the "methods and techniques" will be.

Sociometry is not merely the art of making and numbering circles and drawing a meshwork of lines between them. It is a method of making and revealing patterns of dynamic relationships. By repetitive use in studying the same communities it can and does reveal the evolution of integration and disintegration of groups. Furthermore, it may easily be possible that it will reveal causal sequences among the elements or components of integration and disintegration.

I am choosing to include a number of Loomis' sociometric studies of communities rather than El Cerrito alone because the utility of the method is more clearly revealed by studying the results of its application to diverse situations.³

In the charts he has shown today the outstanding significance of kinship is clearly revealed in family visiting, in eating meals at the homes of other families, in the lending and borrowing of farm implements, and in exchanging of farm work. Childless families are shown to be relatively isolated because of the great part children play in frequency of family contacts. In his studies of re-settlement communities he showed that at first visiting and exchange of meals existed among kinsmen even though the related families lived considerable distances from each other. Children, however, mingled more freely with next-door neighbors and in due time other contacts between these same geographic neighbors followed.

In the Dyess community at the end of two years' occupancy there were only nine pairs of families (eighteen families) in some five hundred which exhibited a degree of mutuality expressed in each believing that the other "was popular" in the community whereas in El Cerrito there were exactly that same number of pairs in twenty-four families which had eaten fifteen or more meals in each other's homes during the past year.

In the Dyess community in-groups--clusters of interacting families--formed after settlement and behaved for or against the organization and administration of the community, thus making for disintegration of the community and a 40 percent turn-over of settlers with the first twenty-five months of its existence. In the Bosque

² Ibid., p. 69.

³ Loomis, C. P., Social Relationships and Institutions in Seven New Rural Communities, Social Research Report No. XVIII, BAE, Washington, D. C., January, 1940.

community (New Mexico) settlers were composed of three outstanding in-groups in the beginning. One of these groups was later almost completely eliminated and the other two developed working and living relationships which practically integrated the community as a whole.

None of these things could have been so clearly or analytically revealed had the sociometric technique not been used.

In the series of studies referred to were included seven new or resettlement communities; one reclamation community, established about ten years before the study was made; a Spanish-American community other than El Cerrito; and New Holland, an old highly integrated Dutch community, just outside Chicago. There is no doubt about the greater accuracy as well as the verifiability of the findings in the three cases where the sociometric technique was used.

There is nothing complicated or necessarily profound in sociometric studies. Their findings would mean very little if not buttressed by concepts and hypotheses. If, as Moreno believes, group interactions can be used as therapeutics or, as Loomis believes, the absence or presence of social bonds are indices not only to the community life but to both community and personality stability, then sociometric analyses furnish both analyses and prescriptions.

There is great need to simplify the presentation of sociometric findings. Moreno did much in this direction by the use of colored lines. But even though the charts are complex and complicated so are the dynamic relationships which they attempt to describe. If we are going to study modern, complex communities we must discover and use tools not required in the study of older and simpler communities, tools not used by those who, having studied simpler societies, are now making valiant efforts to study modern communities. As a matter of fact there is a noticeable tendency for many students of communities, especially social anthropologists, to gravitate to simple, relatively integrated, communities, and when they do study modern complex communities to expend most of their efforts in discovering and describing archaic forms and ideologies. Their shunning of anything approaching statistical or other quantitative techniques can be easily understood when it is known that there is a vast difference between a coefficient of correlation and a social configuration and a yet more vast difference between anything that can be revealed by quantitative methods and an understanding of the attitudes of persons and the value systems of peoples.

Dr. Loomis has approximated what is needed in the studies of modern communities. He, too, in studying El Cerrito, may have seemed to gravitate to the study of simple and highly integrated communities. There is a fascination in their stability and uniqueness. But he and his colleagues have certainly not overlooked the opposite type of community in their studies. They have analyzed some of the

newest and most complex rural communities in the United States and in doing so have effectively used both conceptualism and sociometrics. More of the same thing is badly needed.